

MIMNERMUS AND PYLOS

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IN HIS *Nanno* Mimnermus of Colophon alluded to the coming of his people from Pylos, the home of the Neleids in Messenia, to Asia in ships. Having taken Colophon by force they settled there, and at a later date they captured Aeolian Smyrna.¹ In the same poem he also wrote that Andraemon a Pylia was a founder of Colophon.² Both fragments are preserved by Strabo, who used them in his account of early Ionian history.

The text of the poetical fragment is given as follows in the latest edition of the *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*:³

— ὤ ἐπεὶ τε Πύλον Νηληϊὸν ἄστῳ λιπόντες
 ἡμερτὴν Ἀσίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα,
 εἰς δ' ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες
 ἐζόμεθ' ἀργαλέης ὕβριος ἡγέμονες·
 κείθεν ἰδιαστήεντος ἀπορνύμενοι ποταμοῖο
 θεῶν βουλῆι Σμύρνην εἶλομεν Αἰολίδα.

No satisfactory emendation of the first line has yet been proposed. Bergk printed 'Ἡμεῖς δ' αἰπὸ Πύλον Νηληϊὸν ἄστῳ λίποντες but 'Ἡμεῖς is a conjecture of Xylander and seems to be without any manuscript authority.⁴ ἐπεῖτε is good Ionic, besides being found in F, a good manuscript of Strabo (Vat. Gr. 1329), of which Kramer wrote that it was "omnium primus nominandus" and "non unam ob causam maxime memorabilis."⁵ It is written by thirteen different hands and begins at Book XII, p. 574. Amongst the manuscripts of Strabo the authority of F stands highest, but here at least it cannot be wholly trusted. As Benedict Niese made clear in his *Emendationes Strabonianae*,⁶ the emendation of Mimnermus must begin with the correction of the corrupt words of Strabo himself that introduce the fragment. The text of F runs prose and poetry

¹ Strabo xiv.634; Fragment 9 Bergk.; 12 Diehl.

² Strabo xiv.633; Fragment 10 Bergk. Κολοφῶνα δ' Ἀνδραίμων Πύλιος (κτίζει), ὡς φησι καὶ Μίμνερμος ἐν τῇ Ναννοῖ.

³ Editio Stereotypa Editionis Tertiae (MCMIL) ed. E. Diehl †, Fasc. 1 (Leipzig, 1954), 53.

⁴ F. Jacoby, *Hermes*, 53 (1918), 264–265 note 5.

⁵ G. Kramer, *Strabonis Geographica*, 1 (Berlin, 1844), xx.

⁶ *Ind. Lect.* (Marburg, 1878), xii–xiii. Cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin, 1913), 282.

together so that it is not clear where the quotation begins:

καθάπερ καὶ Μίμνερμος ἐν τῇ Ναννοῖ φράζει μνησθεὶς τῆς
Σμύρνης ὅτι περιμάχητος αἰεὶ ἐπέιτε Πύλον Νηλήιον κτλ.

Even if ἐπέιτε is what Strabo wrote, there is no proof that it originally stood in the text of the poem. On the other hand, since the word is good Ionic it may be an ancient conjecture that found its way into the poem. It could even have come from Artemidorus of Ephesus, from whom Strabo probably took much of his Ionic history. But whatever the origin of ἐπέιτε it is not necessary to assume that Mimnermus wrote it.

The reading in C (Paris. 1393), a manuscript of the fourteenth century,⁷ is more promising: αἰπύ τε. It led Hiller to the supplement αἰπέι(άν) τε; against that Niese remarked that Pylos was not high but sandy, not a very cogent objection. There is no MS authority for reading Πύλον in the genitive and taking αἰπὺν with ἄστυ, either as an epithet or as the name of the Messenian Aipy found in the *Iliad*. (αὐτὰρ) ἐπέιτε and (αἰπὺν) ἐπέιτε mend the line, but neither is compelling.

I shall show that a solution may be found by considering the early histories of Colophon and Messenia. At first Rhacius the Cretan ruled over the country about Colophon and the neighboring Carians.⁸ When Manto arrived with refugees from Thebes, he married her. The son of Rhacius and Manto was Mopsus, who drove the Carians away. Later the Greeks of Colophon blended peacefully with the Ionian migrants, who "plighted faith with them and lived amongst the citizens on equal terms." The kings of the Ionians were Damasichthon and Prometheus, sons of Codrus. Since Pausanias says that they were Codrids, he implies that the Ionians of Colophon came from Athens. Pausanias gives a consistent account of the early settlement of the place; he has nothing to say about an Ionian attack on Colophon. Mimnermus, however, says that his people took Colophon by force. The "we" of Mimnermus therefore cannot be the Codrid-led Ionians that came

⁷ Kramer, *op.cit* (supra note 5) xiv-xvi. E. Honigmann, *RE*, 7² (1931), Coll. 153-154, v. Strabon (Handschriften).

⁸ Pausanias VII.3.

from Athens. Mimnermus does not say that his people came from Athens, but straight from Pylos. There is no reason to think that he meant that his people came from Neleian Pylos to Athens and thence to Colophon; it is true that some fugitives from Pylos fled to Athens and from there colonized Ionia, but the founder of Colophon according to Mimnermus himself in the *Nanno* was Andraemon, who is simply called a Pylian. Andraemon, therefore, was the Pylian, and not a Codrid, founder of Colophon; he it was who led the people that Mimnermus claimed as his own.

The Pylians who took Colophon by force came directly from Messenia to Asia Minor. Andraemon and his followers have no part in the early Colophonian history of Pausanias, because they arrived later than the Ionians. The Codrids lived at least three generations after their ancestor Melanthus fled from Pylos to Athens in the generation of the return of the Heraclidae;⁹ and Codrid Pylians with Andraemon came from Messenia to Colophon well over a century after the collapse of the power of the Neleids. The Mycenaean population of Messenia was not immediately Dorized after the burning of the palace of the Neleids at Pylos about 1200 B.C. In the fifth century B.C. the Messenians of Naupactus spoke Doric,¹⁰ but they may have acquired that dialect in the period of Spartan domination after the first Messenian War in the second half of the eighth century B.C. It is not even certain that Dorians were responsible for the burning of the palace at Pylos. Therefore Messenia need not have been strongly Dorized until after the first Messenian War. The hymn that Eumelus of Corinth wrote for the independent Messenians in the eighth century B.C., when they were still ruled by their kings and independent of Sparta, is in Aeolic rather than Doric dialect.¹¹ Cumulatively the evidence for Messenian history between the collapse

⁹ T. B. L. Webster, *From Mycenae to Homer* (London, 1958), 141-142.

¹⁰ Cf. A. Andrewes, *The Greek Tyrants* (London, 1956), 64.

¹¹ Pausanias IV.33.2. τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτῃ καταθύμιος ἔπλετο μοῖσα

ἃ καθαρὰ <κιθάραν> καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.

The supplement is Bergk's. On page 596 of my article *BCH*, 82 (1958), 588-601 the reference to Messenian *maidens* singing at Delos must be deleted. Eumelos wrote the hymn for Messenian *men*.

of Mycenaean Pylos and the first Messenian War shows that the descendants of the bronze-age population of the area continued to live there. From those Mycenaean survivors came the people who followed Andraemon to Colophon.

The kings of Messenia before the conquest by Sparta about 725 B.C. were called Aepytidae. They claimed descent from Aepytus king of Arcadia,¹² whose tomb was mentioned by Homer. When Andraemon left Pylos the place was Aepytian. Formerly it had been Neleian. Mimnermus, I suggest, recalled the new dynasty of Messenia in the first line of the fragment; the origin of ἐπέϊτε and αἰπύ τε was Αἰπύτιόν τε. Mimnermus originally wrote

Αἰπύτιόν τε Πύλον, Νηλήιον ἄστν, λιπόντες

thereby reminding his hearers and readers that the final masters of Colophon had left Messenia later than the Neleids, who had fled to Athens. Through the emendation the historical interest of the fragment, which had always been great, is increased. Andraemon came to Colophon and took it some time after the failure of the Neleids in Messenia. The Messenian traditions in Ionia should be a warning against putting too much stress on the part played by Athens in the Ionian migration.

Mimnermus does not say how long after their arrival the migrants from Pylos attacked Smyrna. The foundation date of Smyrna is given by the curious Pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer* as 1102 B.C. That may be near the true date, since Protogeometric and even some Submycenaean pottery has been found in the recent excavations at Old Smyrna. By 688 B.C. Smyrna had become a member of the Ionian League; an Olympic victor in that year is called an Ionian.¹³ How long before 688 B.C. Smyrna had ceased to be Aeolian is unknown; the Colophonian attack may have been made at any time between the arrival of Andraemon and the Pylions after 1100 B.C. and about 700 B.C. Herodotus (1.150) gives a brief account

¹² *Iliad* B604. Hesychius v. Αἰπύτιον. Hesiod, Fr. 113, ed. Rzachs³ (Leipzig, 1913). An Aepytus founded Priene: Strabo xiv.633. Paus. VII.2.10.

¹³ Pausanias V.8.7.

of how the Aeolians lost Smyrna. Exiles from Colophon, having been worsted in civic strife there, were received by the people of Smyrna. Later the Colophonians shut the gates of the city against their hosts, who were busy with a festival of Dionysus outside the walls. After all the Aeolians had come to the assistance of the people of Smyrna, it was agreed that the Aeolian population should leave the city with their property. Thereupon they were distributed amongst the eleven mainland cities of Aeolis, and the Ionians of Colophon held Smyrna. Herodotus does not date the Colophonian seizure of Smyrna; but the exiles whom he mentions are surely the same people as the "we" of Mimnermus. At some period therefore in the history of Colophon, the Pyliaus were expelled by the earlier Codrid, Theban, and Cretan people. Since Mimnermus says that the Pyliaus took Colophon by force, their relations with the earlier settlers cannot have been untroubled. The Pyliaus were thrown out and dwelt in Smyrna. Since Mimnermus was one of the Pyliaus, he is called a man of Colophon and of Smyrna; his ancestors lived in Colophon, but most probably he lived in the city that they had taken *θεῶν βουλῆι* — an allusion, perhaps, to the fortunate seizure of Smyrna during the festival of Dionysus.